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Map of the Bella Coola area

[facing p. 1]

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kenzie, making his memorable overland trip to the Pacific, records coming upon Indian villages at every few miles of his course. Boas describes the way in which the inhabitants of each of these claim to be descended from one group of ancestors.

Though it is impossible to estimate the former population of the Bella Coola valley with any degree of accuracy, it must have been in the thousands. In 1922 there were surviving rather more than three hundred individuals, who live in one village on an Indian reserve near the north bank of the Bella Coola River, about a quarter of a mile from the sea. In the last century the tribe was stricken with smallpox, and since then consumption, venereal disease, measles, and other diseases of the white man have taken their deadly toll. Changed conditions of life and decay of the rich ceremonial around which centred their interests in the old days are also contributory factors in their decline. Within the last few years, however, the population has begun to increase.

Bella Coola Villages

The following list of Bella Coola villages was obtained. In an effort to learn which had been deserted in recent years, the writer always asked whether or not a town was occupied at the time of Mackenzie's visit, an event of such great interest to the grandparents of the older people that the memory of it is still preserved. Villages said to have been occupied at that time are marked with an asterisk.

Three rivers empty into the head of South Bentinck Arm, which is about one mile in width (see Plate 7). The Bella Coola, flowing from the east, enters at the southern edge, and the *Nuiyaxtsmen-c* winds in from the north to the opposite angle of the head of the fiord. This stream, "The Nearest River" of the Bella Coola, so-called because of its proximity to the sea, is shown on maps as the Necleetsconnay. Between the mouths of these two is the *Pe-xsh*, a small stream rising

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stream, on which the salmon-weir rested, was carried away.[10]

The following village may be included with the above:

(27) *Nusxeq:* on the shore of North Bentinck Arm, to the east of the creek that flows into it at Green Bay. This long-deserted village was built so close to the ocean that high tides reached almost to the houses. According to one informant, the name was derived from that of the first chief sent down from above to that spot; while another connected it, etymologically, with *Nusx*, the name of the barren district some four and a half miles up the valley of the creek. In recent years this village site has been used only as a summer camp.

The name given to the Bella Coola valley is *Nuxálk*; that given to the inhabitants of the valley, excluding those of village no. 27, is *Nuxálkmx*.[11]

Two points must be considered with regard to the above list of towns: In the first place, can it be regarded as an accurate list, or do the towns belong to the realm of mythology? In the second place, are the customs and beliefs of the inhabitants of the different towns sufficiently similar to be described without reference to local differences?

The first question is difficult to answer. The Bella Coola undoubtedly consider the existence of these towns to be an historical fact, but so do they regard the peopling of the earth by men created in the land above. Nevertheless, the above list appears to be substantially correct. The Bella Coola, although now collected into a single village, still remember their ancient homes. One man, for example, stated as a matter of course that he was a man of *Swabil*. Further inquiry elicited the information that he had been born at *Sunal*, where his father had moved at the time of the smallpox epidemic. It later appeared that my informant's father was born at *Tsmoot*, had married there, and that it was his father who had moved

[10] This explanation may be only legendary.

[11] Boas, p. 49, states that *Nuxalk* is only applied to the lower villages of the valley. All the writer's information was contrary to this view.

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ago the tide came further up the rivers than at present and did not recede so far. This statement was made by an intelligent old man who said that the change had taken place during his own life-time.

One of Raven's most important alterations to *Älquntām*'s intentions was with regard to the sexual act.

> In the beginning of time, the organs of women were on the forehead, those of men on the palm of the hand, and intercourse was effected by a man rubbing his hand across a woman's brow. Raven feared that children would not result from this practice and accordingly altered the organs of both sexes to their present positions. In order to teach mankind the sexual act he then chose a woman and held intercourse with her, telling her that if the practice were carried out secretly and vigorously a child would be born. And nine months later the woman gave birth to an infant. Raven told the first inhabitants of the world that he wished them to have issue; they consequently held intercourse frequently and begat many children until their descendants filled the Bella Coola valley.

The attitude of the Bella Coola towards this story is identical with their beliefs concerning Raven as the cause of death. "Yes," they say, as they repeat the above story in answer to a question, "Raven taught our ancestors how to have children."

One side of their nature implicitly believes any story handed down from the distant past, but few today are sufficiently naïve actually to credit it. The more sophisticated frankly disbelieve, or pretend to do so. Doubt also exists with regard to Raven as originator of linguistic differences. The Bella Coola state that *Älquntām* intended only one language for the whole world, but Raven thought that this would lead to trouble and used his power to teach the ancestors of every tribe their special speech.

Many inventions and beliefs are attributed to Raven without any accompanying myth. It is said that almost all geographical names are those bestowed by him on places reached in his travels. It was Raven who taught men how to bait hooks on long lines to catch black cod; it was Raven who first

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539 to the cave and greeted their long-lost brother affectionately. Though
575 he, too, was delighted at the reunion, he said but little, and for two days told them nothing of his experiences. They remained in camp and on the third night *Ălkwi* told his brothers that he had obtained supernatural hunting powers. The following morning the four went out and killed so many mountain goats that the cave was filled with their carcasses. Their good fortune was amazing. *Ălkwi* sent one of his brothers to invite to the cave not only the people of Kimsquit but of the whole countryside as well. While he was absent on this errand, the remaining three prepared and smoked the meat, taking care to preserve the leg bones.

Within two weeks the guests began to assemble. *Anəkəkwălł* was a good place for a ceremony because *Ălkwi* had decorated it with paintings after its roof had opened to show him the upper regions of space.[1] When all the people had arrived, the host gave a mountain goat leg-bone to each, asking every recipient to beat time with it. Then *Ălkwi* danced
[535] a *nusqual* dance, imitating the one he had seen done by the goat. After performing, he unfolded the story of his adventures and finished by giving away valuable presents of smoked meat and goat grease. Thus was initiated this particular *nusqual* dance.

In later years, *Ălkwi* had such phenomenal success in hunting that
[551] by distributing the spoil he was able to create and confirm for his youngest brother the name, *Nuxăkwaltmł*, "The One Who is Always Successful." This has since been transmitted from one generation to another. *Ălkwi*,
[103] too, is responsible for the name of Mount *Tcepindł*, "Leg-Bones." On one occasion he killed a large number of mountain goats on the mountain and left their leg-bones, *tcepindł*, piled together near the spot. He instructed everyone to refer to the mountain by that name, which has since been done.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY

575 A few words should be said about the reputed early history
578 of the *a'alk* society. Its members seem always to have been on the best of terms with the *nusaak*, and there is no mention of feuds between these two organizations. On the other hand, there is said to have been constant friction with members of the *kusiut* society.[2] The latter comprises a large number of individuals bound together by the possession of supernatural

[532] [1] These paintings are said to be still in existence, and the sister of one informant claimed to have seen them.

[2] This point is elaborated in vol. II, chap. x.

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*539 Many people landed on this mountain from on high, among others the chief *Nuxmăl-a* or *Ẍpĕmai*. He had brought with him from above a house, called *Kămdzoxoy** which, when set up on this earth, grew so large that all the owner's family and descendants could live within. Outside the door, *Nuxmăl-a* had caused the erection of a totem-pole, *Nutlaqĕd*. Within dwelt Echo, an incessant talker, who was very clever at learning languages; his rolling voice reverberated through the house and the whole countryside. This being acted as herald and summoned people to a [537] dance by using the word *Nuxnaxlĭks*; whenever a descendant of *Nuxmăl-a* gives a potlatch he makes a mask with an ever-changing mouth to represent Echo.

Not long after the completion of the house and totem-pole *Nuxmăl-a* set out one evening to fish for salmon with the aid of torches, taking with him his infant son and several followers. During their absence a snow-slide wiped out the town, killing all the inhabitants except one slave who concealed himself within the hollow totem-pole. The slide was due to the mountain being angry at the totem-pole, carved to represent him as he was before he changed to mountain form. When the survivors returned to their buried village they at once set about rebuilding it. In time, as the people increased in numbers, it again became prosperous. They built a fish-weir to supply their wants, using tools of stone obtained from Mount *Nuxpalit*. *Ălkwi*, the son of a *Stuie* chief, married *Nuxmăl-a*'s daughter, *Shmoxălte-a*, and *Nuxmăl-a* moved to *Ẍpupe-ts*.

Other narrators provided a little further information about *Nuxpalit*. While still in human form, he wore a flat-topped hat with broad brim around which ran two snakes. After he had been changed to stone as a mountain, several individuals looked down on him from above and chose his slopes as a landing-place, thus making him their crest. The first to do so is said to have been a man named *Ojĕmai*.

FRAGMENT OF AN ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nulirax*[1]

In the very beginning of time, before the sky was made, *Ăqwaxtin* sent down to *Nulirax* three brothers and their two sisters. The names by which the men have been remembered are *Mĭtsoy**, *Kămtlaxoy**, *Snowaxălx*, and the women, *Snowaxe-a* and *otherwise i*. They came to earth as golden eagles, bearing the beaver as food. The youngest sister refused to change her form, and wandered around in a semi-human condition, becoming frenzied at the slightest excuse. At length her de- [103]

[1] Related by Jenken Hămdy.

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gusted brothers and sister united to get rid of her; she became petrified in the valley which still bears her name, and which still has an evil reputation as the coldest place in the vicinity of Bella Coola. Thence come the cold winds.

Alpentow instructed his carpenters to construct *Sawy'*. They set about their task, but failed to use any supporting posts so that when all was completed, except a small section in the east, it fell. When the carpenters recommenced their work, they took care to erect uprights to bear the weight, and thus were able to construct the sky as it is today. When it was finished, the supports were removed. Only those living at *Nalbas* witnessed this disaster, and from it they took their names. *Kémkiawy'* was the name of this first *Sawy'* that fell.

According to another informant the first settler at *Nalbas* was *Dudzawy'*, who had also the name *Xwaxwalais*. He came to earth in the form of a beaver, bringing a salmon-weir as means of obtaining sustenance.

FRAGMENT OF AN ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nalbas*[28]

Among the first people who came down to earth at *Tiawas* was a stone man, who brought with him a sword as a present from the supreme deity. As a result of this gift the *Tiawas* were constantly practising the art of war, and always ready to start hostilities; their settlement was a hotbed of trouble. One of these people, *Lélxwaklis* by name, wearied of constant strife, determined to set out and find a new home for himself. After considerable travelling he reached *Nalbas* where he settled down among the inhabitants of that village. He had brought with him a young boy who in time married a woman from *Sáalis*, and became the father of many children.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Ilnuk*[29]

In the beginning *Winpeii* came to earth as a man on Mount *Naya*, near *Ilnuk*. He seated himself on the mountain top and slid down to the valley, clearing a smooth track as he went, which is still here like the path of a landslide. He was all alone and built for himself a house of evergreen boughs, *kwalc*, to which he gave the name *Kwalcdal*. After sojourning there for some time he decided to marry; so he set off up the valley to find out if there were any people living above him. He travelled

[28] Related by *Ádamák*, a poor informant.
[29] Related by Mrs. Willie Mack.

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778 539 latch, and the only vacant spot was the central seat behind the fire. Retainer after retainer was sent after someone, until finally the wondering human heard a steady thump, thump, approaching. It was the Mesatche Nose *swaqy*, travelling on his single arm, like a looper caterpillar, his head balanced precariously on top while the thump came every time that he brought his fist to the floor. On his entry, the paintings of fish and marine animals, with which the walls and boxes were covered, came to life and cavorted around as if mad, but when the chief took his seat behind the fire they returned to their pictorial form. From this experience the Bella Bella man obtained a *nsaad* name and myth.

778 (3) The Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel where the mysterious power is that of a snake.

(4) A ledge of rock projecting over the water at a point on the west side of Dean Channel about nine miles below Kimsquit.

(5) *Kʷaʔdes*: On the south side of Burke Channel, a few miles above Kwatna Inlet.

(6) *Swawak*: On South Bentinck Arm, at a spot where the water penetrates far under a ledge of rock.

(7) *Nakilá-aze*: On the east side of South Bentinck Arm, where an enormous spider has been changed to stone. The many colours of its body can be plainly seen amid the numerous holes in the vicinity.

(8) The Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.

778 539 823 103 (9) Mount *Nusdalt*, the highest mountain in the Bella Coola valley, belongs to the same category, since in the beginning of time it was a man.

He, *Nūsaldzwitl*, (which means "Too Heavy" in the sense of "so important") came to earth from above at Cape Mudge and decided to visit Bella Coola. He walked through the land to the site of the present Mount *Nusdalt*, wearing a high hat around which crawled two snakes whose heads often crossed. From where he stood, he saw the lofty mountain *Xaix* in the Carrier country, and resolved to visit it. At that distant period this peak was a human being and from him *Nūsaldzwitl*

1:Mcllwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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obtained two wives, the name of one being *Thiele*. He returned to Bella Coola with them.

Nänalxwitl knew that presently he was fated to become immobile, a seat of petrified power. Since he was able to select where this was to be, he chose the site of Mount *Nuxpalit*, midway in the Bella Coola valley, as a convenient place to overlook the doings of men. Before he transformed himself into this mountain, he determined that he would have people visit him; accordingly he changed his axe, *Nuxkmidjusta*, which he carried concealed beneath his blanket, into *xpalit*, a stone much used for axes and adzes. Until the introduction of white man's tools his wish was gratified; people came from far and near to obtain the necessary material.

The human origin of the mountain is still remembered, since it is often spoken of by its chiefly names, *Nänalxwitl* and *Thiele*, relics of its existence as a man. This story is regarded as an origin myth, and as such might have been included in vol. I, chap. vi.

This mountain is regarded with awe by the Bella Coola on account of its great height, but it seems to lack most of the characteristics ascribed to other places where power has been petrified.

(10) On one of the mountains above Cascade Inlet there used to be a stone eagle with outstretched wings which came to this earth with the first people, but was petrified one day when drying its wings after fishing. About 1860 part of its beak fell away. A change in the condition of any of these places had long been regarded as an omen of misfortune, so the epidemic of smallpox that soon after ravaged the coast was not unexpected.

(11) *Xlissmos*: An unidentified spot where a *smnq* of the mountain was petrified. At this place there is a small pool which is the repository (II, p. 8) of a certain *kusiut* dancer.

(12) *uxuk̓am*, "The Walker," the name both of a supernatural being and the spot where it is localized. This is not far from the glacier that lies near the junction of the trails from *Swaiłi* and *Tăl'co*; it is the largest one in the vicinity of Bella Coola and is said to move its position. The being is in some way connected with it, hence the name.

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WHY WINTER COMES

* 539 * 766 * 787 In the beginning, five people came to earth as golden eagles at a point above the present site of Firvale.[a] Their names were *Ałkuny*ʷ, *Kɛ́mɬɛnyʷ*, *Sɛxwnɛ́ɬɛ*, *Sɛxwnɛ́-s*, and their sister, *utlɛ́mɛn-i*. This woman had enormous power which she used malignly, attracting storms, and doing other evil things. So her four brothers threw her two miles down the valley into the narrow ravine where the old foot-trail used by the Carriers leaves the Bella Coola valley and goes up the mountains to reach the rolling interior country. This barren gorge is known to this day as *utlɛ́mɛn-i*, and it is subject to the most severe winds in the whole district. Here the woman lived and bore a son, whose name has been forgotten. [103]

At this time four brothers living in *Xwnpɛ́-ɛ*, depressed by a serious dispute with their father, decided to leave home, never to return. They set off up the valley, following the only trail. It so happened that *utlɛ́mɛn-i* had sent her son down to collect ocean food, and the four brothers met the youth on the way. After he had answered their questions as to where he was going and why, one of the brothers suggested that they bury him in a large, dry hole. They did so, covered him with branches and earth, and then continued their journey eastward. Presently they saw the house of *utlɛ́mɛn-i*, into which they peered through a crack in the wall. The woman did not see them, but at once became aware of their presence, and bade them enter through the door. In reply to her questions, they told her whence they had come, and then she asked them if they had seen her son.

"No," answered the four.

"That is strange," said *utlɛ́mɛn-i*. "There is only one trail up and down the valley."

The brothers still denied having met the boy, but she became suspicious and accused them of having killed him. She felt under her clothing for a small pump which she always carried concealed near her groin, and worked it until the house began to grow cold. As she continued, it grew colder and colder, until an icy wind swept the brothers into a corner, where they fell to the floor, numb and helpless. One retained sufficient consciousness to gasp out a confession, when she asked again what they had done with her son, adding that he was still alive, though they had hidden him in the ground. *utlɛ́mɛn-i* then stopped the cold and built up her fire, so that the brothers gradually recovered their strength. As soon as they were able she sent them back to exhume her son and bring him back to her.

In her delight at his safe return she said:

[a] About thirty-five miles up the Bella Coola valley, a short distance below Stuie.

2: McIlwraith
103, 192, 551, 773, 776

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/For a Bella Coola-English vocabulary which includes place names, personal names, and names of spirits, gods, mythological characters and places, see category 116, pp. 573-630./

2:16:Dorsey&Kroeber E-5 (1922-1924) 1968
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[The Dance of Thunder]

the uninitiated are expelled. If several *hakaxiu* in the same village are protégés of Thunder, each makes a circuit independently, but they agree to meet afterwards in the house of one of their number. There all members of the society assemble for a meal provided hurriedly by X, or to a number of meals if several have Thunder as patron; in this case there is no pooling of food. The marshals take the opportunity of giving their customary admonitions, as if it were midwinter. Next the singers combine their ideas and hunt out a new song of which the theme is Thunder who never rests; it is worded as if X were speaking and describing what his patron is doing. This song is sung and resung until all present have learned both tune and words. If there are several *hakaxiu* with Thunder as patron, a song is made for each and practised in the same manner.

When all is ready, one of the heralds calls in the uninitiated. Each song is sung to the accompaniment of beating sticks while a dancer performs. Instead of X, this is an old man or woman who has not had a call for many years. Often the *hakaxiu* selected is so old that he or she can dance only with the support of a stick; no reason could be learned for this surprising deviation from the usual practice. If several songs have been composed, a new dancer performs to each. After the last dance the uninitiated are expelled and the *hakaxiu* soon follow. Since no call has come, it follows that it is of a ceremonial, though not of a sacred nature, and does not take the regular course of winter dances. It is said to "make good the path of Thunder," the term employed being identical with that used for the dance on sakawun after the burning of the masks.

Nothing more need be said about the Thunder dance, except to give the following origin myth:

Long ago, long before the white men came to this land, but still longer after the first settlements, four brothers left Kinnapaze to hunt mountain goats on Mount Pisgahite, near the Kinnapaze River.* It was September,

*The mountain is also known as Stone-Lick Ridge Mountain, for deep cavernlike fissures pock-mark its southern end. It is said that long ago, in the very beginning of time, a saltwater monster punished them.

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(2) Brought from above as a present from *Hăpasmas*.
(3) One of the dancer's first ancestors.
(4) Combined themes such as this, referring both to the approaching potlatch and the dancer's origin myth, are common at potlatches and feasts[ed].

wa'lā'a Song Used for Ēmq̓asmasmas of Kimsquit(a)

A Ēmq̓asmasmas | ăxnaqwaxsyălăkas | ăxwaxsyăkas | wăxwăxlăkasas
Presently the people who lack prerogatives will envy(3) when I possess. Because

ăxwaxsyăkas | wa'lā'a
a necessary necessity, it is *wa'lā'a*(1).

[WORDS OMITTED]

B Ăxwā'ămas wăxwăkas
In the beginning there came down | *Pasqăla'ăxwămas*
Pasqăla'ăxwămas(2) | *'wā'wā'kwaxq'ămăxs*
with his crest(3).

Ēmq̓asmasmas
He was himself | *xqwaxqwaxwăxwămas*
on the mouth | *wăxwă'wăs*
of the "Heavy One"(4).

[WORDS OMITTED]

C The last part has been forgotten(5).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 30a, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pallard.
(b) The word *mapam*, which is translated as *envy*, is used only for the desire of ancestral prerogatives which can never be attained except by those who are members of the ancestral family concerned. [424] [614]
(c) It was impossible to obtain literal translations of the subdivisions.
(d) A name which *Imamas* (I, p. 332) took for himself on earth. It is claimed that the composers of this song erred in using this designation.
(e) *Imamas* came down to the Kimsquit River, but the granddaughter showing regret[ed] the sentiment that men and crests come together.
(f) The Kimsquit River is sometimes termed *Wā'wā'kas* on its name as chief. This designation was obtained by *Imamas* from Bella Bella, with his marriage to a woman of that tribe, and bestowed by him on the river. [103] [424]
(g) This song was used during the winter of 1923-4 and nearly led to friction. It is claimed that the right to the name *Ēmq̓asmasmas* was lost to a Kimsquit man who failed to return it. The borrower has been dead many years, but when his ghost was persuaded to dance, one of the singers who was related to the original holder refused to take part in the singing. [578] [424] [424]

Fragment Song Used for a Kimsquit Ahou(a)

A wa'ăxwăla
I have obtained | *ăxwăxwăxsăyas*
the ancestral right | *ăxwaxwăkăsăk*
which displayed | *ăxwaxwăxsăyăk*
my forefathers(1).

[WORDS OMITTED]

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(a) Xamsēk came down from above with *siyuyuyut* in the beginning of time; he had the prerogative of dancing at weddings. 533*
(b) Tsēlqēs likewise came down with *siyuyuyut*, bringing the same prerogative as Xamsēk. 585
(c) The rest of this song has been forgotten. [773]
[424]

Fragmentary and short as are these songs, they are more elaborate than many used at weddings. These frequently contain no words, merely an ancient tune accompanied by humming and meaningless choral interjections.[1]

SHAMING SONGS

533*
Songs of this type are sung by the singers while the principal performer dances; in this respect, they resemble *sisaok* 586
compositions and differ entirely from the abbreviated and 578
individualistic wedding songs. Though used primarily to [585]
shame a runaway husband or wife, one is sometimes employed on other occasions.

Song Used for Nē'qwas(a), a Kimsquit Woman(β)

A Yēlēlaiy | *dalima* | *Mistlos* | *sēlnaistas* | *dāmnaltcaiya'a*
How too much | loaded | *Mistlos(c)* | further, | he has taken with her

cu'tsmēlc'ēyamē | *dāmnaltcaiya'a*
my child, *Tsēlmēsku(d)*, | he has taken with her(c). [103]

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Ānaqēlēlaiyaē* | *sawāstāmmtsalē* | *ikā'ākānatsaists*
Be brave, | mothers(f), | when I speak of your ugliness(g);

ala'ā'ā'ēmmē | *wana'qwā'āstsakmyalē*
you have had much trouble, | your breasts have become long and pendant.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) This word means "The one (feminine) with the very hairy pudenda." The woman in question had run away from her husband and the nickname was conferred at this shaming *Hai'yakam* rite. [551]
[553]

[1] Two examples of such wordless songs were collected. They are song VII D 2a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard, and song VII D 3a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

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[103]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 35a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*c*) That is: *Mistsles* has looted too much. He was the seducer of *Nɔ́ɬwna*.
(*d*) This ancestral name is one of the designations of Mount *Nusɬalst*.
(*e*) This repetition merely adds force to the complaint of the aggrieved husband. It was impossible to obtain an accurate translation of each subdivision.
(*f*) Referring to old women in general.
(*g*) In this second part, the theme changes from the specific plaints of the aggrieved husband to his condemnation and criticism of the whole female sex. Such combinations are common in shaming songs, and are often accompanied by a change of tune.

Song Used for Nulkitl(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

A Dixnlokɔ | *dɔxwɬɬɬiwɔtɔm* | *diqwɔɬɔ́mkdjɔɬ*
Being poverty-stricken(*c*) | has come to this rite

nulkɔiyɔitldɔi
Nulkitl(d).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Dɔɬɬyɔ́mɔ́ɬɔitum | *wɔqɔilixiɬɔl* | *ɔ́ɬɔkɔiyɔ́k'*
All the foul expressions used by men are applicable to(*e*) | the crippled

yɔsilias
Silias(f).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) This song was sung by women to shame *Nulkitl* who had deserted his wife. It was the work of a feminine composer, *Nɔxɔm*.
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 38b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*c*) It was impossible to obtain translations of each subdivision.
(*d*) Any weakness is picked upon in a shaming song. *Nulkitl* must have failed to perform rites of any kind, and the feminine mockers chose to deride him for this instead of his faithlessness.
(*e*) It was impossible to obtain translations of each subdivision.
(*f*) *Silias* was one of the regular Kimsquit singers who had shown especial aptitude in the insertion of obscene expressions to songs used by men to deride faithless women. The women apparently considered this a good opportunity to voice their general disapproval by coupling his name with that of *Nulkitl*. *Silias* had suffered a broken arm when fighting and it had been badly set.

Song Used for Som(a), a Kimsquit Woman(b)

A Wɔɬɬɬɔ́pɔɬɔɬɔ́ɬɔɬɔwɔɬ | *ɔ́iyɔɔɬɔ́iyɔmɔɬɔ́ɬɔi*
Do not talk too much in a proud manner(*c*), | *Som,*

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

714 and one was held up by the bow paddler as the craft neared the
726 shore to protect him and those behind from arrows and stones cast by slings. When not in use, shields were laid away in boxes with some white substance resembling flour.[9] On the
● [103] shore of the fiord below Bella Coola, opposite Winter Bay, there are some boulders of the same white tint; even now these are often spoken of as "The Shields of the Bella Coola." It is said that hostile raiders, seeing them, used to remark that they had reached the outposts of Bella Coola.

726 The same lack of leadership shown during preparations for
701 a war was evident during hostilities. The so-called leader had
703 little authority over his men, who could desert and return home at any time. Lack of martial ability among their own chiefs
[648] sometimes led the Bella Coola to place themselves under the
[642] authority of a Bella Bella in a way which would be impossible for a war-like people. Frequently such divided leadership led to disaster, and is the surest proof that the Bella Coola were not as aggressive or bellicose as other coastal tribes.

726 Except when attacking the Carriers, all raiding parties
[533] embarked in canoes and followed a definite order of procedure
[703] handed down from the past. In the stern of each craft sat the captain, a chief, who, as the craft was leaving, began to sing his *xe-tla* song, keeping time to it with the beats of his paddle; the recounting of the glories of their ancestors was supposed to encourage the warriors. Instead of leaving simultaneously, a rendezvous was often chosen down the fiord, and the expedition finally moved off from there when all the canoes had arrived. While still in friendly territory, a flotilla proceeded
726 openly. A small amount of dried salmon and water was car-
789 ried by a war party and morsels of the former were eaten at intervals. The bow-man took as much food and drink as he thought could be consumed at one sitting, put a fragment of dried salmon in his mouth, chewed it four times on the same side of his mouth as he was paddling, and swallowed it. Then

[9] Some undetermined substance said to have had protective or preservative qualities.

4: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

A fly which does not bite, perhaps the house fly among the Bellacoola, was called Mammish, and was said to lay its eggs on fish and fish eggs. The place called Numammish was so named because the people thought they saw flies and they said *mammish*, but when the supposed flies fell they were seen to be toads.

Among the Ulkatcho, this fly was called Asthus, and was said to lay its eggs on salmon. To keep off flies of all kinds and mosquitoes the blossoms of the cow parsnip, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx, called Goosss in Ulkatcho, were put in oil of the eulachon fish or any kind of oil and the mixture was put on the body. Every food that was smoked was smoked so that flies would keep away from it. Flies were not used as fish bait.

The Gad-fly, *Tabanus* sp.? probably *sonomensis* O. S. of the family *Tabanidae*, which is commonly called horsefly, is numerous when the horses come down to Bella Coola from the interior. Among the Bellacoola it is called Silt lay estl. It is said to lay its eggs in the backs of the caribou in July, and these hatch into "worms." The face and eyes, being pretty, were used long ago as a pattern for a picture which was painted on fine boxes. There was no story of this fly.

Among the Ulkatcho, this gad-fly is called Clez co, and a smaller one is called Clez cho yaz, yaz signifying small. Once I was told that no medicine was used to keep off the gad-fly, but on another occasion that cottonwood gum with oil was used. Apparently for his own amusement, my Ulkatcho Indian informant held one of these flies by the abdomen inside his mouth and made it buzz.

Two kinds of little black biting fly, horse fly (*Symphoromyia* sp.?) apparently considered as one, are called Skikpie estl in Bellacoola. They are called Clez cho yaz in Ulkatcho yaz signifying small.

The Black fly, *Simuliidae*, among the Bellacoola is called Ticos cosee and Alk co ok hotl.

Among the Ulkatcho it is called Whuchu, while Tuh is the name of black flies, mosquitoes, and no-see-ums. All these were kept off with a smoke smudge made with a fire of any kind of wood on which were put such things as green, wet, or rotten wood,

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Since the end of the last century they have dwindled down in numbers, and a few only of their once populous villages are still inhabited, namely, Sâtaq, at the head of Dean Inlet; Nâ'l'a'l, at the mouth of Salmon River; Nuqa'lkum (which embraces five villages, at the mouth of Bella Coola River; Stô'ut, twenty-eight miles up Bella Coola River; and Tâ'lio, at the head of South Bentinck Arm. The dialect of Nâ'l'a'l and Sâtaq differs slightly from that of the other villages. The following is a list of their ancient villages, most of which are still inhabited at certain seasons, although not regularly:—

1. Sâtaq.
2. Nâ'l'a'l. The tribe of this place is called Sâtalxmx.
3. Nuqa'lkx, embracing the villages K'emkê'tes and Stekê'etl on the north side, Pê'istla and Natsi'istaklmt on the south side of the river.
4. Snaqtl.
5. Tsêmê'etl.
6. Sxa'l'xlê.
7. Nê'kmlx.
8. Axa'maxê.
9. Nak'a'aquaia.
10. Tsemqk'a'nâ.
11. Nê'ak'-'elxt.
12. Nêtlê'iq.
13. Stô'ut, twenty-eight miles from the sea.
14. Sxa'l'xlatl. Nos. 4 to 14 are situated along Bella Coola River, and are given as they are met with in ascending the river.
15. Slê'eqtl, at the confluence of Bella Coola and Driver (?) Rivers.
16. Tâ'lio, at the head of South Bentinck Arm, embracing K'ua'pa, Tâ'lio, Nâ'lk', A'aêq.
17. K'ua'lisa, at the bay of that name in the southern entrance of Bentinck Arm. On the north entrance of Bentinck Arm were the Kêlô'ût, but it is doubtful whether they belonged to the Bilqula or to the Hê'iltsuk. The latter call the people of Dean Inlet Ki'mkuiq.

Each of these tribes is subdivided into gentes, which appear to be arranged in exogamic groups. I learnt the names of the following gentes, which bear the names of their ancestors:—

Gentes of the Nuqa'lkum:

1. Tsk'ua'la (=looking down on his family).
   Kwaqsqa'lanuq; Qê'mtsius name: Mâ'kyllaêl (see p. 413).
2. Sxaêlxlâ'aq.
3. Kx'âlxk'-'emx.
4. Pê'ilas.

Gentes of the Nsak'-'a'laixmx:

1. Tl'ak'-'amsî'at.
2. K'êaqêlâ'at.
3. ?

Gentes of the Tâlio'mx:

1. Ikâ'xmxêt (=making good fire); Qê'mtsius name: T'êl'ia-kâêt (=a cave protecting from rain).
2. Sxaiat'ik.
3. Tsemoa'skyas.
4. Ha'mtsêt.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

The Thunder-bird and his companions appear in the kn'siut ceremonial. When they enter the house, a dancer appears who carries an instrument in the shape of a bird-rattle (Plate XI, Fig. 7), which is provided with holes in its lower side, and has a loose back. This implement is filled with cedar-bark and eagle-down, and is shaken by the dancer. The eagle-down is thus made to fly about in the house, symbolizing the wealth and power of the Thunder-bird.

IV.

In the preceding pages I have summarized the principal features of Bella Coola mythology, which are characteristic of the traditions of the whole tribe. Besides these, there are other groups of traditions which are very conflicting. One reason for the existence of numerous contradictory traditions must be looked for in the peculiar social organization of the Bella Coola. In former times, when the tribe was populous, the Bella Coola inhabited a great many villages. The inhabitants of each village are considered the descendants of a number of mythical ancestors who were sent down by Sun. Each of these village communities has traditions of its own, which are its property, and which are not well known to the rest of the tribe. Many of these traditions refer to the origin of our world, and for this reason a number of the most important myths differ in various villages. Indications of such conflicting ideas may be found in the traditions recorded in the preceding pages. To make this subject clear, it is necessary to describe somewhat fully the traditions belonging to a number of village communities. Before recording these traditions I shall enumerate the villages of the tribe. The following list is the result of repeated inquiries. In it the names and locations of the villages are given in consecutive order from the mouth of Bentinck Arm upward along Bella Coola River, and the names of the mythical ancestors of the village communities have been added where these have been ascertained.

	Village.	Location.	Ancestors.
1.	Q'ut'uas	At the bay of this name.	
2.	Sn'ia	At the entrance of South Bentinck Arm.	Tōmō'ux.
3.	Nuxa'q!	On South Bentinck Arm.	Szmōlxtī'k'us, Nuxqoa'-xlaxō, Sx'ioia, and their sister E'ne'xlaxa.
4.	Pi'tuia	At the entrance of the valley opening on the north side of the mouth of Bella Coola River.	Sxi'lxoux, Yuya'lk', Mexsa'i, Sioi'a.
5.	Axqle'ux	The present division at the north side of Bella Coola River, near its mouth.	Iuyā'yōl, Xōuxa'uux-uxs, Snuxsola'lx, and their sister Lexqui'uxa.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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361
773

Village.	Location.	Ancestors.
6. Ōmaxmēk'ēlp	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 5.	
7. Tx!e'lx!ekume	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 6.	
8. Selkū'lx	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 7.	
9. Nē'qlx	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 8.	
10. Sōsk'e'lx	South side, near mouth of Bella Coola River.	Q!ō'c!.
11. Q!ō'mqēlx	South side, near mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 10.	Xe'mlaxs, Ot'mq!emkēlk'a, and their sister Nemā'ma.
	(Nos. 4–11 jointly are called Nuxa'lk'.)	
12. Semāl	About one mile above Nuxa'lk'.	Yexe'Kumaē, Amaxe'mlaxs, Nemaōe'ōela, and their sister Nesk!ē'mat.
13. Tsemō'os	On Bella Coola River, above No. 12	Ne'ek'ela, Tsexemamek!ē'x, and their sister Nemāk!ema'lx.
14. Sne'!'yle	On Bella Coola River, above No. 13.	Tsek!ni'x.
15. Nōk!'ls	On Bella Coola River, above No. 14.	Tsemtsa'ma.
16. Nexā'laxm	At junction of Nexā'laxm and Bella Coola Rivers.	Qaēxnek ma'mc.
17. Axa'nemē	On Bella Coola River, above No. 15.	E'mask !a or Atq!exa'.
18. Nuqā'exmats	On Bella Coola River, above No. 17.	Amaxpak !emdzi'x, Iexā'yek, one more man, and their sister.
19. Txaaxuqā'nē	On Bella Coola River, above No. 18.	
20. Nāwq!a'lx	On Bella Coola River, at base of Mount Nāwq!a'lxē, above No. 19.	Tsesi'skima.
21. Nuxlā'lx	On Bella Coola River, above No. 20.	Sxaaxsemlā'x, Sa'nxmai, Nimxē'ai, and their sister Qaaxsemlā'qa.
22. Sēē'lx	28 miles above mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 21.	Atlix'emlē'qa ii Nemxē'aix, Sexe'ēm, Xe'mlaxs Amaxe'm, Kexmā'ls, Nutwaqā'ex, and their sister Kemāxa'ē'ma.
23. Snā'x!elax	On Bella Coola River, above No. 22.	
24. Sūā'aax	On Bella Coola River, above No. 23.	
25. Q!ne'!ya	At head of South Dentzisch Arm.	
26. Nē'lkx	" " " "	
27. Axa'lx	" " " "	
	(Nos. 25–27 jointly are called Tā'lix.)	
28. Sōōxs	At mouth of Salmon River, Dean Inlet.	
29. Nēōeq	Dean Inlet.	

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

361 773 It is very remarkable, that, besides the ancestors of the villages enumerated here, the Bella Coola state that the Sun created a number of men whom he sent down to a mountain on Skeena River, and that they become the ancestors of a part of the Tsimshian. Another group of men was sent down to Bute Inlet, and later on migrated to Bella Coola River. The names of these villages and men are as follows:—

[103]

Village.	Ancestors.
Nuxp'ax (Skeena River)	Tsqa'mxem, A'xaat, wax'ya, and three under K'imlqa'n.
Xa'ax (Bute Inlet)	Nāxaxlaxa, Axaxtsa'xaxa, Sqa'xpaxtsqaix, Q'umxk'ax.

The full traditions relating to them will be found at the end of this chapter. Each of these ancestors, when sent down to our world, received a salmon-weir, which was placed across the river at the locality where they built their village. I shall now relate a number of traditions of the various villages.

TRADITION OF SE'LLA.

880 In the beginning our world was dark. At that time Tōtsmī'ax descended from heaven, and reached our world on a mountain near the river Wā'k'i-tamqi (Fraser River). Here he built a house, in which he lived in the company of the Raven. The latter had a black canoe which was called "Raven." The two resolved to travel in order to find people. They descended the river until they came to the sea. After some time they reached a house which was covered inside and outside with abalone shells. The totem-post of the house was also covered with shells. It shone like the sun. They saw a canoe on the beach, and this too was completely covered with abalone shells. A chief, whose name was Pulxaut'max ("abalone man"), invited them to enter his house. As soon as Tōtsmī'ax reached this place, the sun rose. If he had not found the place of the abalone chief, there would be no sun. Tōtsmī'ax did not wish to stay. He looked at the house, and saw something turning about on top of it. When they came nearer, he saw that it was a Mink, which was running about on the roof. Many people were inside the house. When Tōtsmī'ax approached and saw the beautiful canoe, he wished to have it. He offered the chief their canoe in exchange. This offer was accepted, and Tōtsmī'ax travelled on with the abalone canoe. The Raven staid with the abalone chief. Tōtsmī'ax continued his travels, following the course of the sun. First he travelled southward, and came to the post which stands in the west of our world. From here he travelled on, and reached the copper country, which is situated

[pp. 51–113 not processed]